

**Supplemental Statement**  
**Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of**  
**1938, as amended**

For Six Month Period Ending

(Insert date)

10/31/2011

**I - REGISTRANT**

1. (a) Name of Registrant

(b) Registration No.

Transitional National Council of Libya

6035

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant

2600 Virginia Ave., NW

Suite 705

Washington, DC 20037

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following?

(a) If an individual:

(1) Residence address(es) Yes ☐ No ☐

(2) Citizenship Yes ☐ No ☐

(3) Occupation Yes ☐ No ☐

(b) If an organization:

(1) Name Yes ☐ No ☒

(2) Ownership or control Yes ☐ No ☒

(3) Branch offices Yes ☒ No ☐

(c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in Items (a) and (b) above.

Our offices have moved back to the Libyan Embassy at the address shown above.

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**IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).**

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C<sup>1</sup>, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>1</sup> The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

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4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date Connection Ended
Ali Suleiman Aujali	Ambassador	Upon recognition of the Transitional National Council as the legitimate government of Libya, July 15, 2011.

(b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
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5. (a) Has any person named in Item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, identify each such person and describe the service rendered.

n/a

(b) During this six month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes ☐ No ☒

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
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(c) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Date Terminated
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(d) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their connection with any foreign principal during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Date Terminated
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6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(b) of the supplemental statement?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

**II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL**

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal

Date of Termination

The Embassy of Libya continues to represent the government of Libya, but became exempt from FARA registration requirements upon U.S. recognition of the Transitional National Council as the legitimate government of Libya on July 15, 2011.

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s)<sup>2</sup> during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)

Date Acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s)<sup>2</sup> whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

The Embassy of Libya continues to represent the government of Libya, but became exempt from FARA registration requirements upon U.S. recognition of the Transitional National Council as the legitimate government of Libya on July 15, 2011.

10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item 8?

Exhibit A<sup>3</sup> Yes ☐ No ☐

Exhibit B<sup>4</sup> Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

- (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>2</sup> The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

<sup>3</sup> The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3 (Formerly CRM-157) sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

<sup>4</sup> The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4 (Formerly CRM-155) sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

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**III - ACTIVITIES**

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11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

Represented the interests of Libya's Transitional National Council and the Libyan people to the United States.

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12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity<sup>5</sup> as defined below? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

See Attachment.

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13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, describe fully.

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<sup>5</sup> The term "political activity" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

#### IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

##### 14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.<sup>6</sup>

Date	From Whom	Purpose	Amount
April	National Transitional Council of Libya	Ambassador's monthly salary	\$11,000
May	National Transitional Council of Libya	Ambassador's monthly salary	\$11,000
June	National Transitional Council of Libya	Ambassador's monthly salary	\$11,000
July	National Transitional Council of Libya	Ambassador's monthly salary	\$11,000
			\$44,000
			Total

##### (b) RECEIPTS - FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fundraising campaign<sup>7</sup>, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D to your registration? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date \_\_\_\_\_

##### (c) RECEIPTS-THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value<sup>9</sup> other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value	Purpose
The Harbour Group	April 21 - July 15, 2011	Pro-bono public relations services	Creating public relations profile and strategy.

6, 7 A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

8 An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

9 Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

**15. (a) DISBURSEMENTS-MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To Whom	Purpose	Amount
April 21 - July 15, 2011	Various office supply retailers	Purchase office supplies	\$2,000
July 2-3, 2011	Airline	Air fare to visit Libyan community in Columbus, Ohio	\$300

\$2,300

Total

**(b) DISBURSEMENTS-THINGS OF VALUE**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value<sup>10</sup> other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Recipient	Foreign Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose
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**(c) DISBURSEMENTS-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value<sup>11</sup> in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or Thing of Value	Political Organization or Candidate	Location of Event
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<sup>10, 11</sup> Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

**V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS**

16. (a) During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials?<sup>12</sup>

Yes ☒ No ☐

If Yes, go to Item 17.

(b) If you answered No to Item 16(a), do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please forward the materials disseminated during the six month period to the Registration Unit for review.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

Transitional National Council of Libya

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- ☒ Radio or TV broadcasts ☐ Magazine or newspaper ☐ Motion picture films ☐ Letters or telegrams  
☐ Advertising campaigns ☐ Press releases ☐ Pamphlets or other publications ☐ Lectures or speeches  
☐ Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Electronic Communications**

- ☐ Email  
☐ Website URL(s): www.ntclibyaus.org  
☐ Social media websites URL(s): Twitter: <www.twitter.com/USReLibyanTNC> and Facebook:  
☐ Other (specify) <www.facebook.com/pages/Embassy-of-Libya-in-Washington-DC/175149195871219>

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- ☐ Public officials ☐ Newspapers ☐ Libraries  
☐ Legislators ☐ Editors ☐ Educational institutions  
☐ Government agencies ☐ Civic groups or associations ☐ Nationality groups  
☐ Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- ☒ English ☐ Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes ☐ No ☐

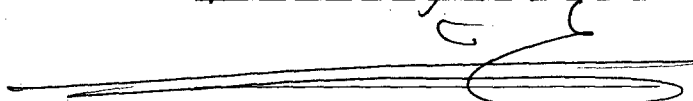
<sup>12</sup> The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.



**VI - EXECUTION**

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)

(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature<sup>13</sup>)11/25/2011Ali Aujali

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<sup>13</sup> This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Date	Office	Contacted	Issue
4/13/2011	Senate	Senator John McCain	US-Libya relations
4/13/2011	Congress	Congressman Joe Pitts	US-Libya relations
4/14/2011	Associated Press ( <i>article enclosed</i> )	Reporter, Associated Press	Libya current affairs
4/15/2011	Congress	Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee	US-Libya relations
4/24/2011	National Press Club Briefing ( <i>article enclosed</i> )		Libya current affairs
4/29/2011	Department of State	Ambassador Dennis Ross	US-Libya relations
5/11/2011	Senate	Senator McCain	US-Libya relations
5/11/2011	Senate	Senator Lieberman	US-Libya relations
5/11/2011	Senate	Senator Kerry	US-Libya relations
5/11/2011	Foreign Relations Committee, House of Representatives		US-Libya relations
5/11/2011	CNN	Reporter Wolf Blitzer	Libya current affairs
5/12/2011	Congress	Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	US-Libya relations
5/12/2011	Congress	Congressman Howard Berman	US-Libya relations
5/12/2011	Senate	Senator Marco Rubio	US-Libya relations
5/12/2011	Department of State	Ambassador David Mack	US-Libya relations
5/13/2011	Department of State	Deputy Secretary James Steinberg	US-Libya relations
5/23/2011	Foreign Policy ( <i>article enclosed</i> )	Reporter Josh Rogin	Libya current affairs
6/1/2011	US Citizen and Immigration Services		Legal status
6/13/2011	Department of State	Deputy Assistant Secretary Janet Sanderson	US-Libya relations
6/16/2011	Senate		Libyan Assets for Humanitarian Relief Act of 2011
6/17/2011	Department of State	Under Secretary William Burns	US-Libya relations
6/21/2011	Department of Defense	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Vicki Huddleston	US-Libya relations
6/23/2011	Senate	Senator Bob Corker	US-Libya relations
6/23/2011	Foreign Policy ( <i>article enclosed</i> )	Reporter Josh Rogin	US-Libya relations
6/30/2011	Department of State	Under Secretary William Burns	US-Libya relations

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## **Former Libyan Ambassador: We want America to stay involved**

Posted By Josh Rogin ■ Monday, April 4, 2011 - 3:27 PM ■  Share

The Libyan rebels' representative in Washington, Ali Aujali, called on the United States to stay at the fore of the international effort to oust Libyan leader Col. **Muammar al-Qaddafi** and to give the opposition leadership weapons and access to billions in frozen Libyan assets.

"The United States is the major player in this crisis. We want the administration and we want your support to keep the role of the United States alive. We want American to be involved," Aujali said at the Center for American Progress on Monday. Aujali previously served as Qaddafi's ambassador to Washington before joining the opposition in February. "For the United States to continue to be a major player in this crisis, this is very important."

He said he understood the domestic considerations in the United States, but insisted that the Obama administration still had a huge role to play in supporting the armed resistance to Qaddafi and continuing aid to Libya's civilian population.

"It will change a lot the image of the United States in the Arab and Muslim world. People will see Americans not only go because they have interests, they go to support freedom, they go to support people who are willing to die for their cause," he said. "This is a great achievement for American foreign policy."

Aujali called on the Obama administration to recognize the National Transitional Council, which is based in Benghazi, as Italy did today. He also called on the international community to give the council access to assets of the Qaddafi regime that were frozen as part of U.N. Security Council resolutions 1970 and 1973.

"If we don't have access to the money, that's a serious problem," he said.

The Libyan opposition has been in contact with the State Department and the Treasury Department to press their case for control of the funds, Aujali said. "It may just be a matter of time, but time means more killing of the Libya people, more suffering, shortages of food and water... We have to move fast if we want to save the Libyan people from this massacre."

Aujali said that he had met with several lawmakers on Capitol Hill, including Sens. **John McCain**(R-AZ), **Joe Lieberman** (I-CT), **John Kerry** (D-MA), **Frank Lautenberg** (D-NJ), and others.

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Aujali's basic demands mirrored those in his March 31 op-ed in the *Washington Post*. "If you want the opposition to achieve victory on the ground then we need to help them. They need training, they need armament, they need political support."

He claimed that the Qaddafi regime is collapsing from the inside, and made clear that the Libya people will never strike any deal with Qaddafi that would keep any member of his family in power, as his son **Seif al-Islam** has reportedly suggested. Aujali also denied reports that there are deep divisions within the opposition. "There is not a split among the council or among the military leadership at all," he said.

Overall, Aujali's message was that the Libyan rebels will never stop fighting until the entire Qaddafi family is gone from power and, while the no-fly zone is helpful, the international community must not stop there.

"If Qaddafi stays behind, not only will the Libyans be victimized. All of us will be victims. It is time for us now to get rid of this man. It's time for us to give Libyans a chance to rule themselves," he said. "The Libyans have the right to dream. And they are prepared to die."

## Libyan rebel ambassador: Get it together, Washington! Posted By Josh Rogin ■

Thursday, June 23, 2011 - 6:55 PM ■

The Libyan rebels are running out of money, but the Obama administration and Congress can't get their act together to provide urgently needed help to those fighting against Libyan leader **Muammar al-Qaddafi**, according to the rebel's top envoy in Washington.

In a nondescript office building in northwest Washington, **Ali Aujali**, the U.S. representative of Libya's Benghazi-based Transitional National Council (TNC), sits behind an empty desk in a bare office. Once Qaddafi's official ambassador, he **defected to the rebels** in February and stayed in Washington as their liaison with the U.S. government.

His singular mission in Washington is to convince the administration and Congress to give the rebels access to the frozen assets of the Qaddafi regime. Four months into his mission, he is baffled by the lack of progress.

"To tell you the truth, we are very frustrated by this," he said in an exclusive interview with *The Cable*. "The TNC is facing a challenge, not only from Qaddafi's forces who are killing people every day, but also domestically. They are running out of money, they need finances to help the Libyan people to support their families,"

"Libya is not begging anyone for charity, but they must have access to the Libyan people's money that's frozen in many countries," he said.

Meanwhile, on Capitol Hill, **lawmakers debate** whether the Libyan intervention is a violation of the War Powers Resolution, whether the president consulted Congress sufficiently, and whether the campaign is in the U.S. national interest. But for Aujali and the TNC, that debate is a distraction from the urgent mission of fighting Qaddafi and helping the Libyan people pursue semi-normal lives.

"Here in the U.S., there is a long debate going on, there are many resolutions coming and going. Time is a factor. We should not get lost in the bureaucracy or in political issues or in the election campaign. Human lives are in danger," he said.

Aujali said that the TNC is grateful for U.S. support, and American leadership in the Libya campaign remains critical. He continues to meet with U.S. officials and lawmakers, but he is not encouraged.

"I have no news, I have no timeframe, I have no promises. Every day we have another resolution, another amendment, and we are getting lost in this," he said. "The people in Libya have a limit to their patience with the TNC and we don't want people to turn against the TNC... This is a serious situation."

It's true that the Obama administration gave \$25 million in **non-lethal supplies** to the rebels, but that's not a lot of money in the grand scheme of things. By way of comparison, it costs about \$148 million per year to provide Libyan students enrolled in colleges in the United States and Canada with funds for textbooks and food, Aujali said. Plus, the MREs, blankets, and other assistance that the United States has provided is not what the rebels need. They need weapons. Barring that, they need money to buy weapons.

"Qaddafi is not fighting the Libyan people with potatoes," Aujali said.

So what's the hold up? The TNC's prime minister, **Mahmoud Jibril**, came to Washington last month and held extensive discussions with the White House, the State Department, the Treasury Department, and several lawmakers. **He pleaded for the administration** to recognize the TNC as the official government of Libya, which would give them access to the billions in frozen assets.

But the Obama administration refuses to do that because, despite launching an air campaign targeting Qaddafi's military and command infrastructure, it hasn't actually abandoned recognition of his regime.

The only other way for the TNC to receive the money is for Congress to pass legislation enabling it to be released, but that process is mired in the legislative process, Aujali said.

For example, for the main **bill** that would allow about \$10 billion of the frozen assets to be used for humanitarian assistance in Libya, Sen. **Bob Corker** (R-TN) offered an amendment that would require the U.S. to pay itself back for military operations first. The bill also doesn't specify that the TNC would have a say in how the money is spent. Both of these issues are huge problems for the TNC.

"This is what Qaddafi is looking for," Aujali said. "This is very dangerous. This is what Qaddafi is telling people in speeches: 'the West wants your money and your oil.' If this resolution passes, then Qaddafi has proof."

Aujali wants the United States to increase its involvement, attention, and international leadership in the Libya war, and he said that the international community has gone too far to stop now.

"We are grateful for the support, but we expect more. We need the U.S. to be more involved in the fight against Qaddafi," he said. "Congress has to understand that if this revolution does not succeed, that will be a great disaster."

He framed the Libyan struggle as part of the overall democratic revolution sweeping the Arab world, as President Obama did in his major speech last month.

"Washington must understand that if U.S. foreign policy is to help people to practice democracy, to observe human rights, and to have freedom of speech, then this is one pillar of that foreign policy," he said. "There are people rising against a dictatorship that has ruled them for 42 years and they need your help."

# Center for American Progress

## Who Is the Libyan Opposition?

### The Major Players and Factors



SOURCE: AP/Charles Dharapak

Ali Aujali speaks to reporters at the Libyan ambassador's residence in Washington, February 25, 2011. Aujali explained at a Center for American Progress event last week that the Interim Transitional National Council, which he heads, is the mouthpiece through which the opposition interacts with foreign actors.

**By Avram Winer | April 20, 2011**

As intervention in Libya enters its sixth week, the multinational coalition currently enforcing U.N. Security Council resolution 1973—which calls for an immediate ceasefire, the implementation of a no-fly zone, and undefined means to protect civilians—must reckon with several possibilities as the conflict continues. The most favorable outcome of the conflict is for the rebels to capture the remaining western portion of Libya, for Qaddafi's regime to crumble, and for a new government to quickly be established via the Interim Transitional National Council, or ITNC, which is a representative body of the anti-Qaddafi Libyans currently based in the eastern city of Benghazi. But such an outcome is unlikely at this time given the de facto stalemate, the stubbornness of Qaddafi's inner circle, and current intervention policy.

Consequently, the United States and its NATO allies must prepare for alternative situations. Rebel forces are proving unable at capturing regime-held cities and Qaddafi supporters are failing to defect en masse even as NATO airstrikes restrain attacks by Qaddafi forces in western areas. This de facto divide of Libya will either require further military intervention or a negotiated settlement.

It is likely, though, that at least part of Libya will be controlled by an opposition-led government no matter which scenario emerges in the next few weeks. The ITNC has assumed the political role on the governance level while affiliated rebels constitute the military struggle.

A key challenge in averting further deterioration of the situation in Libya is ensuring the potentially fractious Libyan opposition does not collapse from internal divisions. Understanding whom the rebels and opposition leaders are is vital

in gauging the amount of interaction the United States should have with them, as well as measuring prospects of instability and violence as the situation progresses.

There are three primary concerns pertaining to the intentions and cohesiveness of the opposition:

- Knowledge of the role, leadership, and capability of the ITNC
- The potential threat of extremism
- The lack of strong tribal bonds in Libya

Reviewing each of these in turn can lead to a greater understanding of who the opposition is and how Libya's transition could play out.

### Meet the Libyan opposition

Ali Aujaali, the representative of the ITNC, explained at a Center for American Progress event last week that the creation of the ITNC was announced on February 17 and has henceforth been the mouthpiece through which the opposition states its objectives and officially interacts with foreign actors.

The ITNC is comprised of a 31-member council from various cities, towns, and regions liberated by the rebels. It is headquartered in the main opposition city of Benghazi. The ITNC has announced its members' identities except for a few because of safety concerns in volatile places. ITNC membership and activities within Libya may not be known by ordinary Libyans if their representatives' identities are not public.

The council is headed by Chairman Mustafa Mohammed Abdul Jalil, a former judge from the eastern town of al-Bayida. Abdul Jalil resigned as justice minister when the uprising began but he had previously been critical of the regime and is viewed as "clean" by members of the opposition.

Mahmoud Jabril, former head of the National Economic Development Board, and Ali AlIssawi, former Libyan ambassador to India and former minister of economy, are in charge of foreign affairs and international liaison.

The opposition's military side is the rebel forces. They are headed by the ITNC's Military Council head Omar Hariri. Hariri took part in the coup that brought Qaddafi to power but he was later jailed.

Khalifa Hifter, a veteran of Libya's war with Chad, is commander of the rebel army. Hifter's chief of staff is Gen. Abdul Fatah Younis, a recently defected regime veteran who helped in the coup that brought Qaddafi into power. He is the least trusted among rebel troops. Hifter returned to Libya just weeks ago after spending exile in the United States, and the power dynamic between Younis and Hifter remains unclear.

### Extremism in the margins

The rebels' ideological ambitions are a source of concern for the United States and its allies. But the fear that rebels seek to establish an Islamist government and are infiltrated by extremists is not supported by strong factual evidence at this stage.

It's true that Libya under Qaddafi supported groups such as the Red Army Faction, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Irish Republican Army, and other revolutionary terrorist organizations from the 1970s to the 2000s.

This support did not extend, however, to religious extremist groups. The two primary religious opposition groups in Libya were the Muslim Brotherhood and the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, or LIFG, both of which faced repressive policies.

Since the late 2000s the LIFG has renounced violence and senior members have renounced affiliation with Al Qaeda through agreements made with the Qaddafi Foundation run by regime heir apparent Saif al-Islam Qaddafi. These were in exchange for the release of prisoners, though some members—who are unrepresentative of the majority of rebels—may still harbor violent tactics in their ideology, especially in the eastern portion of Libya.



seen as a brutal benefactor of Qaddafi's regime—is evidence that basic principles of the opposition are still strong and a negotiated settlement may prove elusive.

What's more, prolonged conflict in Libya will provide opportunities for the opposition to be infiltrated by extremists who may represent alternative reasons for fighting against Qaddafi or contribute to opposition fracturing. This is true even though extremism has not played much of a role in the opposition movement so far.

The United States and other intervention partners must calculate the risks they are willing to take politically, financially, and in potential loss of lives. As they have all clearly shown through their actions, a stable Libya is in the interests of all involved. But time is of the essence. The United States and its partners must pressure Qaddafi loyalists as well as opposition forces into a ceasefire and negotiated settlement. Although this will prove difficult as demonstrated by Koussa's visit to Doha, respect toward the fundamental demands of the opposition and extending some sort of agreement to Qaddafi's men will save NATO members from much unneeded pain.

The risks of Libya slipping into prolonged war and resulting vulnerability to extremism are too high to allow for the stalemate to continue. It will be financially costly, be politically precarious, and not put Libyan civilians comfortably out of harm's way.

*Auram Winer is an intern with the National Security team at American Progress.*

#### **More on Libya from CAP:**

- Can America Rise to the Occasion? by John Norris
- Wait a Minute! by Scott Lilly
- Reading the Tea Leaves in Libya by John Norris
- The Slippery Slope of Unclear War Aims by Brian Katulis
- Libya's Shaky Future by Sarah Margon
- Ask the Expert: Sarah Margon on the Crisis in Libya
- Intervention in Libya Requires an Endgame by Peter Juul

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#### **To speak with our experts on this topic, please contact:**

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<http://inthearena.blogs.cnn.com/2011/03/24/former-libyan-amb-ali-suleiman-aujali-gadhafi-and-his-sons-made-it-easy-to-resign/>

Libya's former ambassador to the United States Ali Suleiman Aujali holds a news conference at the ~~National Press Club~~ March 18, 2011 in Washington, DC. Aujali denounced Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, called for him to step down, and aligned himself with the pro-democracy rebels in the east of the country in February.

March 24th, 2011

10:57 AM ET

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## **Former Libyan Amb. Ali Suleiman Aujali: Gadhafi and his sons made it easy to resign**

Posted by:

**Jay Kernis - Senior Producer**

ONLY ON THE BLOG: Answering today's five OFF-SET questions is **Ali Sueliman Aujali**, Libya's Ambassador to the United States from January 2009 until February 2011, when he resigned in the wake of the 2011 Libyan uprising.

Last week the National Transitional Interim Council in Libya sent a letter to President Barak Obama recognizing Ambassador Aujali as the people's representative and the Council's representative in Washington, DC. The State Department continued to recognize Ambassador Aujali as the Libyan Ambassador to the US, until last Wednesday, when the Libyan Embassy "suspended" relations, ignoring requests from Foreign Minister Moussa Koussa to terminate Auajali's status as ambassador following his resignation.

Ambassador Aujali joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1969. During his post as Ambassador to the United States, he was responsible for an almost complete normalization in Libyan-US relations.

He is scheduled to appear In The Arena on Thursday, March 24, 2011.

**How difficult was it to make the decision to resign your post?**

Well, it was very easy for me to make that decision - Gadhafi and his sons made it very easy.

**Are you in danger now—would Col. Gadhafi try to harm you for quitting and for calling for his ouster?**

I will tell you, yes, I am in danger, and some of Qaddafi's agents and operatives are still working here in the United States as intelligence.

**How well did you know Gadhafi and how challenging was it to represent him for some 40 years?**

I did not know Gadhafi very well, I met him a few times when he visited the United Nations last year.

To be honest, I was appointed by the foreign ministry as a career diplomat, not as a Gadhafi appointee, and I tried my best to represent the Libyan people and advance the interests of the Libyan people. It was very challenging for me at times to represent Gadhafi, and at times, I must tell you it was very embarrassing.

**The Libyan Embassy in Washington DC is now closed and you are working from your home. Who do you now represent and who are you meeting with now?**

I am working for the people - I am representing the national transitional council. This council is an organized body that is composed of lawyers and business men. It has designated representatives to carry out tasks in the areas of foreign policy and other positions.



United States Department of State

*Office of Foreign Missions  
Washington, D.C. 20520*

November 17, 2011

Matt Pacinelli  
2400 N Street, NW, Suite 600  
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Mr. Pacinelli:

The purpose of this letter is to inform your organization that effective September 9, 2011, Mr. Ali S. Aujali was accredited by the Department of State as Libya's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States.

In this capacity, the Department considers Ambassador Aujali to be authorized to negotiate and execute lease agreements on behalf of the Embassy of Libya. Further, the Department's Office of Foreign Missions has no objection to the Embassy of Libya continuing to lease suites 705 and 711 at the Watergate Office Complex (2600 Virginia Avenue, NW).

Please do not hesitate to contact my office if you have additional questions or concerns with respect to this matter. My telephone number is (202) 647-3417.

Sincerely,

Cliff Seagroves  
Acting Director  
Diplomatic Property, Taxes, Services  
& Benefits

2011 NOV 29 AM 6:30

MSD/CES/REGISTRATION UNIT

cc: Embassy of Libya